

**THE POLITICAL STATEMENT ON THE
7th REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF**

**THE SOCIALIST ARAB
BA'ATH PARTY**

**Baghdad
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Masses of our proud people

Masses of our struggling Arab Nation

In one of the gravest stages of the glorious struggle of the Arab Nation, and under deteriorated circumstances where all the abuses of the previous stage have accumulated, our Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party has taken over the responsibility of the revolutionary change on 17th July. Through the stands which the government has adopted, the Party has put up the new picture ensuring the building up of future Iraq in a way that the Party deeply derives lessons from the past, stepping over its mistakes and disposing of its complexes, wounds, incoherence, divisions and conflicts, turning the building into a fortress reinforcing the Arab resistances against the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary aggression, and enhancing the Arab resistance to such a degree that it will be capable of defeating the aggression and changing the condition of the Arab Revolution from defence into attack.

The Seventh Regional Conference held in Baghdad on 24/11/1968 had come to define, through the studies which were the subject of discussion by the conference, the detailed features of the new picture. As the regional secretary had put it

in the opening speech, its convention "constituted a grave, significant affair, as it is made in grave significant circumstances and because all the political regimes and movements, under the setback circumstances left over by the defeat of June, are living a historical trial where success depends on clear-cut answers to questions put up by the current stage, on the regional, national and international levels and on the official and popular levels."

Throughout its convention, the conference has taken into consideration the great challenge which places the destiny of the Arab cause in a crossroad, and which in the defeat of the 5th of June, appeared stinging, grim and horrible. The conference and its committees, therefore, mobilized all serious, concentrated efforts for studying the political, economic and organizational reports deeply and extensively, for laying out clear defined solutions in order "to put an end to interpretations, extemporizations, personal roles and non-objective stands," as the secretary of the regional leadership had put it in the opening speech.

Throughout the ten days in which the conference diligently finalized debating its agenda, every member in the conference had recognized his historical responsibility, complying with the spee-

ch of the regional secretary who urged comrades to make Iraq of July 17 the hope of all the strugglers in the Arab world and a new starting point in the life of the Arab Revolution, saying "It is demanded that the Party should benefit from the experiences of November 18, February 23 and the 5th of June and be well aware of the factors which led to it and avoid the past mistakes. 'It is required that the Party should demonstrate its genuineness and its real picture, to itself and to the masses. The studies put up to the conference should be carefully considered and then finalized with a careful, clear definition of phrasings and practical and scientific solutions covering the requirements of the current stage which is marked with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression on the Arab Nation, and with conspiracy on the destiny of the Arab cause. The only thing that would defend the Party and the Arab Nation in the present battle of destiny, is adherence to the historical motivations and keeping up with them."

With this, the four committees formed of members of the conference started studying the reports and working out recommendations. The committees were as follow:

- 1 - The Political Committee, to study the planning of the political programme, the stage pro-

gramme, the projected charter of the progressive national front, and the report on the commando action.

2 - The Economic Committee, to study, the economic report, the agricultural report and the oil affair.

3 - The Organizational Committee, to study the project of the general organizational plan, the organizational plans concerning the labour, peasant, students and popular action bureaus.

4 - The committee on the Kurdish issue, to study the report put up on the Kurdish issue.

The political plan approved by the Conference had to take into consideration analyzing the situation pre July 17 revolution, analyzing the reality of the political and social forces in Iraq, definition of fundamental problems and the great contradictions marking this stage, besides analyzing the national and international reality mentioned in the strategy of the 9th Nationalistic Conference. It also contributed in reaching a clear definition of the current stage and helped clarifying its regional, national and international dimensions, and its political, economic and social angles.

The analysis of the situation pre July 17 revolution had exposed the new style of imperialistic, reactionary schemes in the Arab zone. The military monocratic regime, with the tribal sectarian stamp, assumed progressiveness, revolutionary and socialism, while it represented the interests of the remnants of feudalism, major bourgeois and reactionary, fighting socialism in the name of socialism, creating adequate circumstances for the new reactionary infiltration, striking at the revolutionary forces and causing abortive the slogans of the masses, falsifying it through a distorted substitute, and emptying it of its actual meaning, and through oppressing the movement of the masses and popular organizations, fighting party, unionist and professional organization; and smashing up the national unity through encouraging sectarianism and tribal life and fighting front-working endeavours and every other endeavour for achieving entente amidst the national forces, and conspiring against the Palestine cause through excluding the masses from serious contribution in the battle, neglecting the development of the capabilities of the armed forces and reducing its fiscal allotments, liquidating the progressive, national elements of high efficiency in the army, strangling the commando action and not settling the Ku-

rdish problem in order to keep the army preoccupied and diverting it from its duty of confronting the aggression and the schemes of the imperialist Zionist alliance.

Besides, the analysis of the situation pre July 17 revolution has revealed the internal, Arab and international contradictions which that regime had lived and from which the regime had derived justifications for its presence and continuity throughout the period past the November retrocession, justifications which collapsed all at once on the 5th of June and made the consequent fall of the regime inevitable.

The analysis, also, revealed how the national and progressive forces had failed in achieving a unified political front before the revolutionary change—due to national groups being passive towards the front's slogan because of their own circumstance of the past deposits; and how that failure had placed the heaviest burden on the shoulder of the party; and then came the expression of the stage change on 17 July which took its revolutionary form on 30 July 1968.

After the fall of the Arif regime, the party had to face the heavy legacy of the stage that preceded the 5th of June and the 17th of July, apa-

rt from the international circumstances full with passive probabilities and perils to the Arab Nation, particularly the peril of the Zionist aggression and the schemes of imperialistic alliance in Palestine, and in addition to the home major problems like the Kurdish problem and the problem of practical phrasing of front action, and the economic problems.

It was inevitable that the standards and rules on which the solutions and stands, on the home, Arab or international levels be defined. Therefore, the political plan resorted to analyzing the state of the political forces and the reality of the social, class construction so that the solutions come out from a nationalist, socialist, revolutionary attitude that fully embraces and deeply comprehends the needs of the present stage. The present analysis confirmed the soundness of the stands previously adopted by the party which provided for ruling out any alliance with the large bourgeois and semi-feudal classes which are both linked with the interests of neo-colonialism, and the reality of division, with the purpose of creating a national front. The above analysis ended in supporting the party in stressing the progressive quality of the front, which should represent the alliance of the

forces hostile to the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary alliance, that is the interests of the striving classes in Iraq in the first place. The attitude of the party towards the other political movements was adopted with regard to the following considerations :-

1 - The present stage is that of confronting the threats of the Zionist-imperialist invasion. All the national, progressive, and anti-imperialist countries, and the countries believing in the elimination of Israel will find themselves in a natural alliance.

2 - The meeting together with the political forces should be through the objective of struggle against the imperialist-Zionist alliance, the petroleum monopolies, and the forces hostile to the interest of the striving masses, within the framework of interaction with the concepts which the revolution puts up in this concern.

3 - The engagement of the party in conflicts with any progressive force will give chance to the reactionary forces to be the sole beneficiary of such conflict.

4 - Our party has a nationalist organizational existence, and an engagement on its part in a con-

flict with any political movement that has a nationalist, or world existence will inevitably lead to disintegrating the front of the national, progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, and anti-reactionary forces in the other Arab countries, and this imposes obstacles on the way of their victory over the hostile forces.

5 - Struggle with progressive, national forces will inevitably weaken the internal, anti-imperialist, anti-reactionary front. Therefore our party may not be responsible for such struggle.

6 - Protection and development of the revolutionary change led by the party on 17th July can only be ensured by mobilizing the masses, solving home problems, uprooting espionage networks, establishing a unitary, revolutionary and democratic system of government that ensures national unity, and realizing revolutionary achievements.

7 - The pre-17th July regime has left a heavy legacy of evils, corruptions, economic deterioration, social disintegration, problems, and crises which can only be overcome by a uniting and conciliating formula inspired by revolutionary thought full of belief in the people and capable of shouldering the responsibility of meeting the requirements of the present stage.

Thus, the conference approved that the party retains the characteristics that distinguish it from the rule, but at the same time exercises the role of control and guidance.

The conference stressed on defining the formula of the rule as democratic, revolutionary, and unitary, and that this formula grows and materializes through the exercise by the people of their rights by organizing themselves into free and united vocational and trade union organizations, and into popular councils, as well as through serious work to realize solidarity of the revolutionary and progressive elements and the national elements in one front.

It also firmly enjoined that the party should play the main role in removing the remaining negative traces of the past and pushing the revolution forward towards realizing the full objectives of the present stage, speeding up the process of preparing the necessary conditions for establishing a national assembly, granting press licences to all political groups, and trade unionist and popular organizations who would have signed the charter of the national front, and finalizing the permanent constitution.

With regard to the Armed Forces, the conference decided to adopt the slogan of "The Army for War and Construction." The conference stressed the fact that the army must belong in ownership to the people, and must be a decisive means for protecting the frontiers of our homeland and the gains of our people, not a means for persecuting the people or obstructing the progress of the revolution. It also stressed the necessity of submitting this important organ to the service of the nationalist cause and the masses, and making use of all the efficiencies and national experiences in confronting the battle of destiny. The conference pressed on taking speedy measures to introduce military technology and industry, endeavoring to raise the standard of training, changing the worn-out methods, adopting the spirit and traditions of our people and nation so as to agree with the missions for which the army was created, and introducing progressive nationalist education side by side with military education. The conference underlined the necessity of attending to the health, training, and education of the soldier, and considering the safety of the army part of the safety of the soldier, and treating the soldier democratically and according to military discipline at the same time.

As for the administrative tool, the conference took into consideration its backward condition which makes it, in spite of its being superfluous to the need in number, suffer large deficiency in technical qualifications and poorness in productivity. The conference arrived at a conclusion that reforming the administrative tool is a delicate operation that requires scientific study of the conditions of the administration from every respect, especially with regard to construction, inter-departmental relations, red-tape, regulations, laws, and archives.

The conference required improving the administrative tool on scientific principles that reduce complications in administrative formalities, purging the civil service system from the corrupt and bribes, and enforcing the rule of law.

The conference underlined the necessity of avoiding, as much as possible, jumps in appointments, with expansion in the technical systems, development in the inspection, planning, statistics, public sector institutions, and security systems, raising the productivity level, and attracting, encouraging, and stopping drain of efficiencies.

The conference strongly required that appointments be made with special consideration to

loyalty to the revolution, honesty, specialization, and technical efficiency. Therefore, the conference recommended correcting the mistakes made in appointments after 17 July.

The conference defined the principles on which the plan should be based.

On the agricultural policy level, stress was put on the necessity of realizing radical agrarian reform to ensure liberating the peasant and the countryside from the remains of the feudal relations, and the complex exploitation of money-lenders, abolishing the principle of compensation, enacting an agricultural relations law, adopting the necessary plans for development, introducing mechanization into agriculture, creating a new irrigation system, ensuring guided agricultural credit, subjecting the administrative systems having to do with the countryside to the control and criticism of the peasantry societies, developing the survey institutions, carrying out technical survey of the agricultural lands, encouraging and developing state-owned co-operative farms and introducing the socialist methods and spirit into them in such a way that agrees with the conditions of the Iraqi countryside and the standard of its citizens.

The conference reaffirmed that the agricultural relations, being the main content of the production relations in the society, must be a means for developing the productive power, and stressed the necessity for steady work to reduce the gap between the town and the countryside.

On the oil and mineral policy level, the conference endorsed the adoption of a firm oil policy that ensures subjecting the foreign companies to strict control, since the oil monopolies represent a main infiltration means of imperialist influence and pressure on Iraq, and have common interests with the international, imperialist strategy. They also represent an important factor on which the imperialist sabotage plan relies to weaken Iraq and destroy any revolutionary tendency.

The conference placed the question of supporting and motivating the National Oil Company to expedite direct production of oil among the foremost missions of the oil political plan, together with developing the oil products industry, and the serious work to create an independent, national oil industry.

The conference decided that oil and mineral wealth, especially sulphur, should be directly exploited.

The conference stressed the necessity of revising the previous laws and agreements in such a way that ensures the interests of the people and the recovery of the legitimate rights of Iraq from the oil companies. The conference called for creating a pan-Arab federation of Arab national oil companies.

With regard to industry, the resolutions of the conference particularly stressed the necessity of organizing and developing the public sector, and drew out the outlines of the developing process.

The conference stressed the fact that scientific, systematic work for the sake of building up the bases of heavy industry in Iraq is among the necessary means for liberating our economy from subservience and industrial backwardness.

It also noted the necessity of electrifying the country, since such electrification is essential to the progress of industry.

The conference pressed on eliminating the economic chaos emanating from lack of co-ordinated scientific planning and adopting banking policy that ensures supervision by the state in order to achieve development of industry and the public sector in such a way that secures existence

of the private sector side by side with the programmed national economy.

In the commercial sector, the conference focused on the necessity of organizing home trade in a manner that ensures putting an end to monopoly, speculation, cheating, wilful pricing, rise of profit margin, and primitivity in marketing methods.

The conference agreed on the necessity of expanding the activities of the Government Purchasing Board, and supporting the consumption societies all over the country. The conference pressed on making a study on the foreign trade, and organizing it according to the national production interest, and in such a way that ensures extending the supervision of the state over it.

In the financial sector, the conference stressed the necessity of reforming the financial systems applied, eliminating the strict centralization characterized by red tape pattern, and the necessity of reforming the tax system in Iraq and charging gradual taxes on high incomes.

The economic report approved by the conference focused on the necessity of realizing quick economic development according to the revenues available and with integrated planning compati-

ble with the objectives of creating a socialist society and the objectives of the battle of destiny against the imperialist Zionist invasion.

The report on agricultural socialist change stressed the necessity of making essential changes in the interest of the great majority of the people, in the foremost ranks of whom are the masses of the peasants, since the originality of the revolution lies in its ability to defy the economic and social conditions prevailing in the countryside, and to change such conditions in such a way that realize honourable and decent life for the striving.

In the educational policy field, the conference underlined the necessity of basing such a policy on educational planning harmonious with the economic and social planning, fulfilling of the requirements of the general development, ensuring change of concentration on general education into a balance operation giving sufficient attention to agricultural and technical education, and introductory of vocational guidance into the core of general education through increased attention to the applied aspects.

Similarly, the conference underlined the necessity of developing the educational curricula, enc-

ouraging academic research, and expanding university education.

On the information and culture policy level, the conference approved the general tendency of the policy, and defined its objectives in developing the consciousness of the masses, imparting truths, adopting honesty and openness within a general and comprehensive horizon embracing the dimensions of the nationalist and international causes, aiming at purging the national culture from the remains of the divisionist mentality and the pre-July revolution imperialist bourgeois stage, rising in the comprehension of the needs of the stage to the level which the 5th June disaster imposes, adopting the scientific and popular method in expanding the frameworks of national education of the masses, paying attention to importing the experiences of revolutions in the world, and ensuring a wide campaign to fight illiteracy.

With regard to ensuring decent life to the citizens, the conference considered developing the public services projects, providing work for every citizen, raising the standard of living, and ensuring the essential needs of clothing, housing and daily sustenance as a basic duty to realize general welfare. A hungry and deprived citizen, and an

insecure and unstable family form the main threat to the existence of the structure of the society and the state.

The conference approved the necessity of making progressive legislations, and enacting a labour pension law ensuring them against disability and old age.

The conference approved the outlines of the health policy, which springs from the acceptance of the fact that the ill individual is a symbol of the ill society, and which considers the public health an outward appearance reflecting numerous essential social, economic, and humane considerations. The minimum infant and juvenile mortality, and the constitution of the productive human power largely depend on the exercise of a health policy aiming at spreading health services, ensuring availability of drugs, reducing drug prices, spreading health centres in the countryside, and endeavouring to apply the principle of health insurance for the striving masses.

With regard to the juridical policy, the conference stressed the necessity of simplifying the juridical procedures so as to realize justice and fair judgment to the oppressed, ensure the right of the popular classes for the laws provide, protect

freedoms against encroachments seriously endeavour to develop the juridical systems to ensure choice of scientific and moral qualities, and take all the legal and scientific measures to safeguard the independence and impartiality of the judiciary.

The conference stressed the necessity of enacting an economic penal code to deal with all actions harmful to the economic development and fight negligence in the public sector systems.

The conference underlined the necessity of revising the legislations inherited from the days of the Ottoman Rule, the feudal royal government, and the previous dictatorial regimes and promulgating new legislations emanating from the principles, concepts, and spirit of the unitary, democratic, national revolution, which facilitate growth and flourishing of this revolution.

In view of the critical circumstances in which the country is passing and due to the Kurdish issue having a certain significance that for seeking the opinions of the national and progressive organizations and in order to have maturer opinions on this issue the regional conference has suspended its sessions and then resumed its meetings by

the end of January 1969. Having studied the report submitted in this regard, the conference reaffirmed that the question of the nationalistic aspirations of the Kurds in Iraq is on top of the questions which the National movement is facing, and it is of the important questions the Arab Revolution is facing. Several years have lapsed, yet not a sound settlement has been worked out, a matter which caused terrible catastrophes and tragedies to both the Arab and the Kurds due to slackening in working out solutions. The forces of imperialism and reaction and the cliques of agents and opportunists have always taken advantage of same and invested the failure in solving the question for the purpose of interfering in Iraq's affairs, exercising pressure on her and conspiring against the rights and interests of the Arabs and the Kurds, incurring the heaviest damages on the nationalistic, progressive and democratic positions and gains which had been achieved in long years of sacrifice and joint struggling.

The conference has also laid emphasis on the fact that our party, basing its struggle and policies on its nationalistic, humane, socialist and democratic belief, has always respected the nationalistic aspirations of the Kurds with its national and progressive content and considered them legi-

timate human rights, appreciating the strong relation between realizing them and the strength and soundness of the march of the masses in Iraq towards clearing out imperialism and realizing democracy, socialism and unity. Within its hard complicated circumstances of struggle, the party has always sincerely endeavoured to perform its positive role in working out a sound phrasing for the relation between the Arabs and the Kurds, the phrasing which the party firmly believes in its establishment on the basis of creating free relations among human communities and directing these communities towards the general development of humanity with the aim of liquidating imperialism, aggression, war, national and social oppression, and backwardness. In the sphere of solving the Kurdish issue, the conference relies on the principle of Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and its faith in the right of Kurds in preserving their nationalist subsistences, considering them the base on which unity of struggle waged by the Arabs and Kurds against imperialism, Zionism and backwardness, depends.

The conference therefore stressed that the best solutions for the Kurdish issue are the ones which include the progress of the Kurdish masses

and that the development of Kurdish citizens and their nationalistic and humanistic traditions and sentiments through the spirit of Arab-Kurdish national fraternity depends on expediting the implementation of the remaining articles included in 29 June Statement accompanied by incessant work for the establishment of agricultural, industrial, constructional and tourism projects needed in the area for the realization of economic integration and economic unity and seriously aiming at local rule. On this basis, the solution of the Kurdish issue from the viewpoint of the conference can be summed up in this way:

1 - Peaceful solution and decisive confrontation of the attempts made to sow dissension between the Arabs and Kurds.

2 - Speeding up the implementation of the remaining articles of 29 June Statement.

3 - Establishment of direct relations between the Arab and Kurdish struggling masses, the consolidation of our party's relations with the vocational and political progressive Kurdish organizations and abandoning all traditional leaderships.

The conference submitted other recommendations and the study related to the Kurdish issue to the forthcoming 10th nationalist conference for their discussion and approval.

Regarding the policy of popular action and other aspects of home policy in general, the conference stresses the necessity of saving the popular action from the attempts of suppression and distortion exerted against it in the past by guaranteeing the freedom of vocational and unionist organization, consolidating and encouraging student and women movements, looking after women's rights, paying attention to the youths, developing their physical and mental capabilities, encouraging innovation, securing modern education, making out of the youths a significant national force in the battle and presenting the biggest chance to the masses for their participation in all spheres of popular action and struggle.

On the Arab level, the conference centers its attention on the Palestine issue and the nationalist issue after 5th June setback, considering the battle against the Zionist presence in Palestine as the battle waged against the Zionist-imperialist alliance and assessing the dangers threatening the Arab issue. The conference considers armed struggle in its commando or military form as the main point of upsurge towards the defeat of imperialist-Zionist invasion and the rejection of every political manoeuvre that leads directly or indirectly to reconciliation, negotiation or recognition

of Israel, the consolidation of commando action and its development and unification, the mobilization of the people under the slogan of continued battle, and the unification of military, political and economic forces among the states surrounding Israel. The conference also reaffirms the necessity of dedicating all capabilities needed for the protection of the Gulf Arabism, the support of the revolution in Yemen, the Arab people's struggle in Eritria, the recognition of Mauritania and work for its membership together with Somalia in the Arab League.

On the international level, the conference reaffirms the pursuance of a policy opposing imperialism in all its forms, the consolidation of ties of friendship with all the socialist peoples and states on the basis of mutual benefit and common struggle against imperialism and in support of Arab right, strengthening the ties, with the countries of the third world and all movements of liberation which aim at the realization of independence and national sovereignty, presserving the friendly relations with the Islamic states that seriously support the Arab right in Palestine and holding deliberations with all world revolutionary quarters to acquaint them with our issue, struggle and principles.

The conference considers the unity of the socialist camp a basic requirement to encounter the danger of imperialist defiance and denounces the policy of racial segregation. It stresses the support of every call made for securing peace on the basis of eliminating oppression, safeguarding the rights of people in liberation and emancipation, considering the Arab struggle as an indivisible part of the battle of humanity. The conference also requests the recognition of the Democratic German Republic.

It greets the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam against American imperialism, the struggle of peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and the so-called "Portuguese" Guinea against imperialism. The conference also denounces the policy of apartheid exercised by the white minority in Rhodesia and South Africa.

In the light of the political plan, the conference approves the stage programme, and the progressive national front charter derived from its general plan which will be submitted to the masses for discussion.

Regarding the internal organizational policy of the party, the Party considers revolutionary organization as the only effective means for the in-

terpretation of its objectives, turning them into gains closely linked to the life of the masses. Party organization is not an aim in itself but a means of expressing such an aim, forming a beneficial organ for the leadership of the masses, for the protection of the revolution and the achievement of its objectives. In order to be such an organ, it is quite essential to adhere to the party stands and its organizational principles, establishing true party relations between the base and the leadership, exercising criticism and self-criticism, realizing centralized democracy, implementing the resolutions and stands adopted by the party and developing partisan initiative.

The conference stresses the importance of the social structure of the party by relying on the toiling popular classes, assessing the party's faith in the toiling popular classes through the extent of its expression of the reality of these social classes. On this basis, it considers the emphasis laid on the social structure of the party as the best guarantee for the continuation of its revolutionary course.

The conference also stresses the importance of openness on the masses which is the only form that preserves party's organic link to them and

helps it to strike deep roots. On the other hand, openness on the former partisan element who did not exercise subversive activities against the party is not less significant than its openness on the masses. The conference warns against partisan favouritism which is being exploited to fill important government posts. It stresses the necessity of combating any trend that may lead to the emergence of a new class or bureaucracy

O Masses of Our Gallant People :

The Socialist Arab Baath Party which assesses the importance of action, considers words as a useless coin without having a large deposit of action, this party whose sense of historic responsibility has increased after 5th June and after the eruption of 17 July Revolution pledges before the people and the Arab nation to exert all efforts possible for the implementation of every word it says in order to establish through your assistance the aspired future of this country, the future of all toilers and the future of the Arab issue and the Arab revolution.

Greetings to the martyrs of the struggle waged for the Arab Nation's unity, liberty and socialism and greetings to the heroic commandos waging the battle against the Zionist enemy.